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# The Dilemma of National Integration In Pakistan Challenges and Prospects

By  
**Ijaz Hussain**



اردو گتب خانہ

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## THE DILEMMA OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN PAKISTAN: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

*Ijaz Hussain*

### **Introduction**

Integration literally means the fitting together of parts to make one whole. Parts, of course, cannot be fitted together unless they are compatible. This is the first prerequisite of integration. A country, if it is to survive, must have national unity, cohesion and integration. National integration is a process of achieving national cohesion, stability, prosperity, strength and feelings of being united as a nation.<sup>1</sup> Pakistan has faced varying degrees of religious, ethnic, linguistic, economic and political problems that are often in conflict with our national interests. To guard against all challenges to the solidarity and security of Pakistan, a well knitted and integrated nation is a must. Having inherited a complex nature of multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic population in its national entity, with different socio-cultural backgrounds, the danger of regional fragmentation is always there. In these ways, the achievement of national integration in Pakistan presents its own set of dilemma. So national integration in Pakistan can only mean establishing a common citizenry, common political and social structures, a common state, and a common sense of identity. It means building a common national community on top of the existing diversity.

The paper, however, intends to highlight the issues which either have potentials to strengthen or deteriorate the process of national integration in Pakistan. The references of historical dynamics including the tragedy of East Pakistan provide the benchmark for the paper. It also accentuates the likely inclinations in the future followed by certain recommendations to maintain unity among the nation.

### **DIVERGENCES**

#### **Political Factors**

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, in his Presidential address to the first

Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, on 11 August 1947, expressed that;

*“I sincerely hope that with your support and co-operation **we shall** make this Constituent **Assembly** an example to the world. The Assembly has got two main functions to perform. The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing the future constitution of Pakistan and the second of functioning as a full and complete sovereign body as the Federal Legislature of Pakistan.”<sup>2</sup>*

Unfortunately, neither of these two functions could be met by the Assembly and Pakistan, slowly and gradually, got itself on the track of wrong precedents. Delay in constitution making reduced the space for the development of political system in the country, and as a result the first Constituent Assembly was dissolved by 1954. This was a severe blow to the democracy and federation of Pakistan, two prerequisites for national integration. In these ways, the desire for autonomy by the provinces remained a mere dream and dissatisfaction started arising among them. This, however, intensely disturbed the smooth running of the country because Federal system of government is considered to be indispensable for Pakistan due to her large heterogeneous population and provinces.

Pakistan is the first ideological based country which appeared on the map of the world. It was established on the basis of ‘two-nation theory’ which is then embodied in the constitutional structure of Pakistan, through the famous ‘Objectives Resolution’. This resolution of 1940 is said to be the backbone of our constitutional composition and provided the yardstick for the constitutional development of Pakistan. Notwithstanding, the unremitting and unnecessary delay in the making of constitution could result in failure to establish a viable democratic system, a prerequisite for the Federal system. The concept of autonomy was automatically suppressed by such unhealthy developments which created misunderstanding among the provinces.

Although, the Constitutions of 1956 and 1962 subsequently



recommended the Federal system of Government with maximum autonomy to the provinces, yet those remain confined to only promises. Besides, certain discretionary powers entrusted to the President were also resented by the units. Suspension of constitution and imposition of martial laws further added fuel to the fire. At this point in time was also witnessed a gigantic governance crisis in the country and at the same time the leadership deficit.

Autonomy always emanates from federation and a true federation flourishes only with the stabilization of democracy, so these three terms are interdependent. The 1973 constitution, however, gave certain measures to ensure provincial autonomy. It established the bicameral legislature – to safeguard the interests of smaller provinces, extended the President's Electoral College to the provincial assemblies in Eighth Amendment and authorized the provinces to elect Provincial Governments.<sup>3</sup> It formulates National Economic Council to regulate Centre-Provinces policies regarding trade, commerce and economics. Council of Common Interests (CCI) ensures solution of any dispute between centre and provinces regarding division of water, electricity, revenue etc. National Finance Commission (NFC) settles issue like distribution of revenue between centre and provinces. Although the constitution ensures maximum autonomy to the provinces, yet several flaws have been witnessed in its implementations since 1973 to date. Lack of will and dedication on the part of political leaders and frequent interruption in the political system resulted in delays, which created resentment in the provinces. The Federal Government held the 'Concurrent list' with itself, along with the Federal list, and kept the units away from the right to exercise their authority. In these ways, crisis of confidence could find the space to emerge among provinces and still the political scene is shadowed by a trust deficit between the centre and provinces. Unsatisfied federating units are the product of over-centralization, which alienated the smaller provinces and generated sentiments of separatism, violence and distrust. The recent situation in Balochistan can exactly be considered as a sound example. Hence it goes without saying that a Central Government with absolute power can neither run the administration effectively nor can solve the problems of the people having different socio-economic problems.

In Pakistan's political history, the political process has been interrupted four times by non-democratic forces and the country has remained under military rule for almost three decades. As a result, the political culture has never had the space to evolve and instability shadowed the political scene of the country. The political entities, on the other hand, exercised immature political attitudes like extending support to military rulers, propensity to misuse authority, personalization of politics and revenge under garb of accountability.<sup>4</sup> Lack of political consciousness to evolve viable democratic culture, lack of supremacy and degradation of institutions, absolute government and political control of a special feudal class all witnessed in an instable political process. Even today the same faces with feudal background are appearing in the parliament. As our political scene has been shadowed by qualms and doubts it becomes difficult to keep the nation intact. The authorities have failed to deliver the people their inalienable rights and resulted in dissatisfaction, doubts, violence, chaos and uncertainties, which created hurdles in the way of national integration. These did not exactly make the population, especially in the smaller provinces, interested in the future of a united Pakistan. Nevertheless, regional based political parties can't be a comfortable trend for the political integration of the country. The ethnically oriented result of 18 February general election in 2008 validates the said argument and indicates that the propensity still continues.

### **Economic Factors**

*"To make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in cooperation in a spirit that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state with equal rights, privileges, and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make."*<sup>5</sup> (Muhammad Ali Jinnah)

The vision of the founder was shaped in nothing by the successors, rather poor governance, mismanagement and political instability continuously contributed weakening the economic system

since very beginning. Inequality, unfairness, corruption and nepotism instead of equality, impartiality, fairplay and justice were roughly exercised throughout history. Theoretical assumptions and promises could not transform into practical form. Provincial autonomy was being promised in all the three Constitutions but it is yet to be delivered. So the Federating units remained absent from exercising authority over their own resources. On the other hand the Federal Government held everything in hand despite its continuous failure to maintain even economic developments in all the provinces. This proved a major factor which created mistrust among provinces. Also, it could not provide them with sufficient exploration mechanism. The ratio of revenue generation capabilities by provinces were ignored by the Federal Government and remained reluctant to pay the royalty they deserve. Unequal distribution of resources, employment opportunity, infrastructural development and industrial growth provided a space for the uneven socio-economic development in provinces. This created disparity in economic well being of people living in different provinces and boosted up poverty. In these ways, provinces like Balochistan and Sindh lacked behind in every sphere of life. These along with frequent failure of CCI and NFC, disputed water distribution and energy resources and the right to royalty endangered the prosperity and integrity of the country. In addition, the current economic system has further widened the already existing gap between the riches and the poor.

The equitable distribution of resources is the only solution to the confronting socio-economic problems and development of the provinces. A simple example of the existing NFC criteria is that 'province of Sindh was contributing 65 percent but getting 23.71 percent of revenue share from the Federal Government that has weakened the financial position of the province. Previously the provinces had been getting 80 percent share from the NFC Award but in 1996 the then caretaker government reversed the formula of NFC Award and the share of the provinces was reduced from 80 percent to 37.5 percent'<sup>6</sup>. Same is the case with N.W.F.P and Balochistan. Nevertheless, this criterion seemed to be an unjustified one and intensely needed a revision. Quite recently, the Centre and the provinces realized this fact in the 7<sup>th</sup> NFC Award and have agreed on a formula based on multiple factors rather than population

factor alone. At this point in time, it becomes quite relevant to say that the much taunted single factor formula of NFC Award has been replaced by multiple factors, which is considered to be a landmark consensus. To achieve this, not only the Centre sacrificed its share under the vertical arrangement in an endeavour to give additional financial incentives to the provinces but also the Punjab showed flexibility on contentious issues under the horizontal inter-provincial sharing of resources. The provincial share of the divisible pool would increase from the present 47.5 per cent to 56 per cent in the first year of NFC (2010-2011) and 57.5 per cent in the remaining years of the award under the vertical distribution of resources.<sup>7</sup> This share would virtually be over 60 per cent. The Centre has also agreed to cut tax collection charges from five percent to one percent and this amount would also be added to the divisible pool. The NFC recognised sales tax on services as a provincial subject and it might be collected by the respective provinces.

About the horizontal distribution among the provinces, Punjab would now get 51.74 percent, Sindh's share will be 24.55 percent, the NWFP will receive 14.62 percent share while Balochistan will get 9.09 percent. Besides, the break-up of unprecedented multiple indicators and their weightages under 7th NFC Award are following:-

- Population - 82.0%
- Poverty and Backwardness - 10.3%
- Revenue Collection / Generation - 5.0%
- Inverse Population Density - 2.7%.<sup>8</sup>

The federation and the provinces agreed to provide Balochistan Rs 83 billion of the provincial pool in the first year of the Award, and to give one percent of the total divisible pool to NWFP as an additional resource. In this way, Sindh would receive an additional transfer of Rs 6 billion from the federal government, which is equivalent to 0.66 percent of the provincial pool.

This development will immensely enhance financial autonomy to the provinces and the federation will become stronger if the provinces achieve the financial autonomy and become more

powerful.

### **Ethno-Religious Dimensions**

Demographically, Pakistani society is composed of 48.2% Punjabis, 13.1% Pushtoons, 11.8% Sindhis, 9.8% Siraikis, 7.6% Urdu speaking (Muhajirs), 4.2% Baloch-Brauhis, 2.4% Hindko speaking and several small ethno-linguistic groups.<sup>9</sup> Pakistan has been beset with so many conflicts of ethnic nature in its history. Also, there is no denying the fact that the wide varieties of ethnic and linguistic groups operating inside the country have very little in common besides being Muslims. So there should be no dispute regarding the legitimacy of diverse ethnic grievances and competition in society. In Pakistan, ethnicity along with provincialism has also been a source of manipulation by the political leaders to give a cover to their mismanagement.<sup>10</sup>

Soon after the tragedy of 1971, another separatist movement emerged in Baluchistan, which was forcibly suppressed with the assistance of 80,000 troops.<sup>11</sup> Then, Zia did more to aggravate the ethnic tensions in Pakistan than to alleviate them. His military operation in Sindh gave birth to a Sindhi nationalist movement, which was responded to by the Muhajirs and they too launched a movement. This led to the worst ethnic rioting in Sindh and civil war in Karachi. Islamisation thus failed to reduce ethnic tensions in Pakistan because Zia's interpretation of Islam denied the legitimacy of ethnicity and their grievances. Pakistani nationalism failed to develop not as a result of the incompatibility of Islam and nationalism, but because successive Pakistani leaders have been unable to offer a convincing rationale for why ethnic nationalism should be discarded in favour of Pakistani nationalism.

Though Islam is most often cited as the main basis of Pakistani nationhood, its validity as an integrating force remained limited. While Islam is a potential force for unity but emphasis on it alone provided no sure guarantee to hold the state together, as it could not in 1971, because the political, economic and social forces were ignored. Moreover, too much stress on Islam could aggravate sectarian conflicts in history, and further it can inhibit the process of



modernization by strengthening the hands of fundamentalist parties. The ongoing uncertainties as a result of chaos and disorder in the country expose the validity of the said argument. Analysis shows that it should have been clear to the leaders of Pakistan that they could not over-rely on religion alone to unite a society characterized by diverse factors. They should have firmly considered the importance of political and socio-economic factors as well. However, more than religion would have been needed to integrate the fragmented polity of Pakistan.

With the introduction of religious parties and the exploitation of religion by various governments, throughout history, to legitimize and stabilize their respective regimes created hell on this land of the pure. The roots of sectarianism can be traced back to 1980s following the curse of Afghan war, when Iran started supporting 'Shia' madrassahs in Pakistan in a response to Saudia Arabia supporting 'Sunni' madrassahs.<sup>12</sup> The period, however, led the credit for boosting such inclination as never before. Nevertheless, some self serving clerics from different sects remained engage in alienating the simpleton Muslims from the true spirit of Islam and are weakening the Muslim brotherhood, which is the real basis of Pakistan.<sup>13</sup> The society remained divided religiously into different factions, which always resulted in social stratification. The tendency, however, remained intensifying up to date and still has the capacity to create hurdles in the way of national integration, if steps are not taken to sincerely tackle the issue. After 9 September 2001, the Muslim society in general and Pakistani society in particular, has been divided between Enlightened and Conservative Muslims. This trend further created a division but with new fashion to the already polarized society on sectarian lines. The situation although apparently shadowed the later nature of division by the former one, yet the ground realities expose that both these inclinations exist in parallel. The state of war has however prevailed in the country against the extremist elements, who support the terrorists, and on this basis the society has further fragmented. This trend would, no doubt, poses a serious threat to the integrity of Pakistan. There is also the possibility that the internal dissensions by the extremist elements may have gained patronage from external forces as well.

**Trans-National Interference**

The decade of 1980s witnessed a huge influx of refugees into our country, which to a larger extent reshaped the composition of our society. Pakistan has been suffering from multi-directional ramifications owing to such an alien demographic penetration of Afghans and other refugees. They brought with them Kalashnikov culture, black marketing, smuggling and human trafficking as well. Such an alien interference in our society gave birth to extremism, sectarianism and terrorism, which continues since 1980s to date. The current menace of terrorism by Al-Qaeda and other Non-State Actors has the roots in the same social trend. So it can safely be assumed that the militancy in Pakistan is the product of such a trans-national penetration and is likely to continue unless the Afghan refugees are systematically forced to leave the country. Furthermore, the foreign intelligence agencies might have exploited the inclination to get inside the country to meet their professional designs. As a result, the traditional structure of Pakistani society has been fragmenting rapidly in dual directions, modernization and fundamentalism.

The situation has the capacity to create schism among different sections of population and different regions of the country, leading Pakistani society to instability and social disintegration. In such a situation, frustration and sense of deprivation gives rise to separatist tendencies which sometimes assume the shape of political agitations. Unless social, psychological and economic problems are understood and solved at early stage, they may become unmanageable and result in widespread social maladjustment and political instability. Pakistan presents an admixture of various races and caste. These racial differences along with regionalism create social differences in country, which may have serious political repercussions. This would also dominate the natural forces of integration such as brotherhood and nationhood and thereby affect the national unity and solidarity of the country. In addition, social ills like intolerance and excessive corruption also mars the process of social and political integration of the country.

## East Pakistan Debacle

After the inception the most formidable problem of nation-building in Pakistan was the integration of the geographically and culturally distinct Bengali sub-nation. The problem was urgent because Bengalis were the largest ethno-cultural subgroup in Pakistan constituting a majority of 54 percent of the country's total population.<sup>14</sup> Bengalis were hardly represented in the administrative and power structures. As a result, the Punjabis and the muhajirs, who modernized early, became the national elite of Pakistan from the outset. Ayub's regime promised that the domination of East Pakistan by the West Pakistan would cease.<sup>15</sup> However, his policies created an imbalance in the development, which inevitably intensified Bengali demands and created disequilibrium in the national system.<sup>16</sup> Ayub's policies gradually transformed the Bengali agitation from a lingo-cultural phenomenon into a much broader politico-economic one. The nature of Bengali political demands also changed, from participation in the national political system to demands for a totally autonomous system. Consequently, the negligent policies strengthened ethnic identity as a political factor and by 1971 a civil cum external war separated the two wings. The major causes in this regard were:-

- Geographically, East and West Pakistan was separated from each other by 1600km.<sup>17</sup> Thus the logic of geography dictated that there been a dual economic and administrative apparatus. Also, the disparity in geographical location created different strategic interests.
- Both parts also exhibited sharp differences in demography. East Pakistan's population density was nearly seven times more than that of West Pakistan.<sup>18</sup>
- The linguistic differences between the two wings were very great and none of the languages had general acceptance in both wings. The Bengalis were intensely proud of their language and often revealed a sense of linguistic nationalism. They strongly resented the attempt to make 'Urdu' the only national

language and demanded the same status for the 'Bengali'.

- There also existed some basic disparities in the society and culture of both wings. Both societies were much more segmented from each other. The differences in social stratification led to differences in political sectors, which could prove detrimental to national integration.
- Bengalis were reluctant to put too much emphasis on Islam because they had a large percentage of Hindus too, and they did not want to alienate them. Moreover, emphasis on Islam was perceived as no sure guarantee for uniting all the Muslims.
- Over-centralization of administrative and political system always resulted in the disparity of socio-economic developments between the two wings, which created sense of deprivation among the masses of East Pakistan. So the overemphasis on state-building rather than nation-building led to the alienation of the Bengalis and proved conducive towards the disintegration of the country.

### **Convergences**

*"I shall always be guided by the principles of justice, fairplay and complete impartiality, and I am sure that with your support and co-operation, I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest nations of the world".<sup>19</sup> (Muhammad Ali Jinnah)*

Had the people and leaders of Pakistan followed the principles of justice, fairplay and impartiality since very inception, as Mr. Jinnah had wished, they would surely have emerged as the greatest nation of the world. But unfortunately we could not. However, despite surface tensions and confrontations, there is an unmistakable trend of greater inter-dependence among ethnic communities and society as a whole, which can contribute to national integration. There are certain economic, demographic, political, and cultural developments taking place in the country

which tend to affect such relationships.<sup>20</sup>

Firstly; two kinds of historical approaches to national integration in Pakistan have relevance even today. One is that all Governments since 1947 have tried national integration by emphasizing India as an external threat. So they heavily relied on pointing across the border to promote national unity. Hostility towards India and the struggle for Kashmir has been important tools to stress Pakistan's unity.<sup>21</sup> Using an external enemy for strengthening internal unity had gained credibility and three Indo-Pakistan wars also provided a base to the argument that internal unity was inevitable for survival. This notion of common enemy, India, is still alive among the whole nation. Besides India, the other most important tool to establish unity instead of fragmentation has been the common religion, "Islam". Again, all governments have utilized religion as a unifying force but in very different forms. Although this factor alone could not avoid the unfortunate tragedy of 1971 and hence proved not a sole reliable integrating force, yet it still has the relevance in contemporary society, along with the political and socio-economic factors.

Secondly; despite having the diverse nature of society there still remains a ray of hope among the nation that after all they are united by the feeling of having a common national identity. They have strong ideological attachments as well. So there must be a confidence without any confusion in sustaining Pakistan as its people do share a common political identity and represent a 'unity in cultural diversity'. People do also share a common political base and believe in the supremacy of national interest, thus the main characteristics remain the strong sense of common identity and unity.

Thirdly; after the unforgettable incident of 1971, the whole population, unlike past, lives within the same common territory. Hence it makes communication more easy and there are prospects of greater mobility of population and resources. So there remains no logic of geographical dictations to socio-economic developments in different parts of the country.



Fourthly; given the literacy rate going up, there seems to be a growing awareness among the general masses inside the country. People became more conscious about their political and socio-economic rights and are able to differentiate between rights and wrongs. This would, no doubt, be helpful to understand the national problems and the importance of national unity. Media, both electronic and print, can play a vital role in this regard while providing the public with sound knowledge of happenings around them and particularly of the political system prevailing in Pakistan. This will help establishing a democratic tradition in the country while utilizing the public awareness in the wake of free media and education.

Lastly; all the stakeholders seem to be pursuing the agenda of national reconciliation both at tactical and strategic levels. This will no doubt help consolidate national unity, built national consensus, improve national image in the international arena and provide a comfortable playing ground to all nationalistic entities to do the best for the integrity of the country under the prevailing critical environment.

### **Future Perspectives**

Despite sixty-two years of its existence the present state of nation-building phenomenon in Pakistan is fragile, however it has not failed. Keeping in view the unfortunate debacle of East Pakistan in 1971, the danger of the rest of Pakistan disintegrating cannot be ruled out at all.<sup>22</sup> The future of Pakistan thus, to some extent, hangs in the balance. A combination of over-centralization, ethnic resentments, social alienation and religious extremism today characterize Pakistan. The government looked to be either constrained or confused on policy framework to counter the internal menaces. As a result, people tend to become cynical and alienated from politics and the state. Continuous failure of the law enforcing agencies, crisis of management and huge economic pressure are likely to create uncertainties among people. And the increasing internal competition for meager resources can reinforce fragmentation.

Though the nature of insurgencies in Pakistan is not absolutely ethnic, yet at the same time the fragmentation of political system has increased considerably and has grown more provincial in character than national. The social fabric of the country is also weakening. Separatist movements along with a triple crises of political, economic and militancy are likely to get momentum in the foreseeable future. These along with continuous weakening of state structures can easily lead to destabilize the country. This would simply imply weakening of national integration, and strengthening of ethnic, tribal and religious forms of political identities.

The country definitely has great potentials to overcome the political and economic shortcomings, but again the will is absent. However, the economic prospects are dim at the moment and that the most likely scenario for Pakistan is a very pessimistic one, in case the current government failed to address the most pressing problems of the country. The combination of paralysis, fragmentation and the weakening of the social fabric can easily lead to a highly unstable political situation, without a functioning integrative mechanism. This combination can overturn the democratic system in the long run and strengthen the Islamic movements.

At present, the country is vulnerable to suicide attacks and bomb blasts. Regrettably, most of our leaders failed to understand the intensity and the sensitivity of the strategic environment. The ongoing adverse circumstances have enveloped the country from all sides, and are creating a rift between the public, politicians and the security forces. Besides this, acute differences on the basis of regional and provincial interests at the cost of national one have threatened the very unity among various ethnic groups. Nevertheless, the country is in a mess in wake of the present multiple crises and it looks as if there is a “war of all against all”.<sup>23</sup> At this critical juncture, the situation demands sacrifices of self interests from every citizen in favour of national interests.

With the survival of the existing multiple crises, an unstable equilibrium may go on for a long time in the foreseeable future, and the next few years will have immense importance for Pakistan to

make the situation compatible and to resolve the internal menaces mentioned above. Until now we have put a little effort to keep the nation integrated, but the question still remains whether the country make use of the chances it has, or concede defeat.

### **The Way Forward**

- To establish a viable political system for the uninterrupted growth of the political process, a strong democratic culture is a must. Political entities must ensure supremacy of institutions through a carefully conceived strategic planning with consensus among various pillars of the state. None of the political parties should extend their support to the absolute and despotic governments. All the stakeholders should work for nation-building and ensure their respect for the constitution, and should jointly address the problems faced by the nation. This will keep the nation satisfied, which is one of the prerequisites for integration.
- Federal system of government is indispensable for Pakistan, as entrusted in the 1973 constitution. For it reconciles the national unity and will help keep the units satisfied, narrowing the gap of trust deficit, increase inter-provinces and center-province relations and reduce separatist tendencies. So, decentralization and deliverance of provincial autonomy is a concrete step to satisfy the nation.
- We have to extend our support to national institutions and national political parties while discouraging the regional ones. Unlike history, we have to ensure the political participation of every citizen so that no one felt excluded and the common national identity could develop.
- Media can play an effective role in resolving the issues pressing the nation at the moment. It has to be utilized for regaining the lost image of the nation in the international arena, and the government should consider it a convenient tool to win the hearts and

minds of the people, necessary for the integrity and unity of the nation. Through it one can easily narrow the differences among different factions of society and various political parties through open debates and patriot Intellectuals' writings.

- We should try to remove all social ills hindering the social and political integration of the country. These include intolerance, corruption, social injustices, ethnic discrimination, illiteracy, poverty, frustration, tribalism etc.
- To promote equity and harmony, necessary for national unity and integrity, we should treat equally all ethnic groups, and ensure the protection and promotion of their languages and cultures. Just economic developments in all the provinces need to be ensured. So far we have achieved nothing through violence, thus we have to adopt diplomatic approach to meet national agendas.
- We have to redress the situation in FATA sincerely in a planned, systematic and scientific manner instead of the perfunctory and ad-hoc approaches. The government should follow the multi-pronged strategy of political, military and socio-economic development to counter the militancy in FATA. The issue is so serious that if we fail to tackle it soon, it may spread out to other parts of the country, which would be detrimental to the integrity the country.
- We have to seek national consensus on every issue of strategic importance to form a unifying front. Political parties need to rise above purely party interest and look for the best interest of the nation. This will help resolving the problems in a much smooth and convenient manner thereby injecting mutual confidence and find combined solutions to the common problems. It is not the time to outwit all the others but it is time to use wits of all to outwit the enemies of state and to counter their designs by finding true solutions to our problems.

## **Conclusion**

The incompatible factors to national unity and integration in Pakistan remained geographical differences, economic disparity, mal-administration, social injustices, distance between the ruler and the ruled in civil administration, lack of patriotism, failure to develop national character and morale, lack of spirit of sacrifice and a sense of responsibility towards the nation. These combined with other diversities pose a problem for the Pakistani society to create and develop social harmony. We have to generate the feelings of patriotism and nationalism instead of regionalism and provincialism, within ourselves, and have to dedicate to the cause of national integration consciously. It is the duty of every individual to play their due part in nation building. The prevailing situation demands from the nation a sense of sacrifice and responsibility towards state and society unanimously. At state level, the institutions working for national reconstruction are inadequate to deal with the deep-rooted problems of regionalism, sectarianism and militancy. People from all walks of life should extend their cooperation to arrest the onslaught of alien ideologies and cultures. It is, however, concluded that only one factor can not keep the whole nation integrated so we have to consider multiple factors, which in combination can sustain the national integration. Over-reliance on any single factor while ignoring the others would result in non achievement of national integration.



## Notes

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- <sup>13</sup> Mirza Muhammad Saleem, Op.cit
- <sup>14</sup> Rounaq Jahan, Pakistan: Failure in National Integration (New York and London, 1972), 6-7
- <sup>15</sup> Dawn (Karachi), 22 October 1958.
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- <sup>17</sup> Rounaq Jahan, Op.cit
- <sup>18</sup> Muhammad Asif Malik, Op.cit
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